1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

II. TRADITIONAL DEVELOPMENT

A. The Cradle of Chinese Civilization

The upper area of Honan, the most northern of the Central-South provinces, has been at the center of the mainstream of developing Chinese civilization from prehistoric times. From this hub, Chinese culture spread in all directions, integrating elements of other cultures with which it came in contact, to the limits of arable land and topographical barriers. The first organized state of which we have concrete evidence -- the Shang (c. 1520 to c. 1030 B.C) -- was centered on the present-day city of Anyang in this region.[1] Loyang in northwestern Honan was the political center of the expanding Chinese state from 771 to 221 B.C. (the Eastern Chou period) and again during the Later Han Dynasty (A.D. 25 to 221). The city was one of two capitals under the T'ang (618 to 906), but thereafter the political center of the unified state gravitated to the northeast. Until A.D. 221, the province was also increasingly important as a center of agricultural production for the empire. By the time of China's reunification under the Sui (581 to 618) and the

1. On Chinese prehistory and the Shang civilization, see H. C. Creel, The Birth of China, London, Jonathan Cape, 1936; and Wolfram Eberhard, A History of China, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1950, pp. 3-21.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

T'ang dynasties, the province had lost its key economic position to the Yangtze Valley area.[2] 175

Culturally, however, Honan continued to contribute leadership to Chinese civilization. An early ninth-century Honanese, Han Yü, is doubly famous throughout China; he was the originator of a prose style that is still considered a model and, as a leading and upright Confucianist, he sacrified his high position at court in an unsuccessful attempt to discredit the alien religion of Buddhism at a time when it was competing with native Confucianism for political supremacy.[3] Another Honanese, Ssu-ma Kuang (1019 to 1086), wrote one of China's greatest histories, the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien. This epic work in a nation which placed an extremely high value on history was written during periods of retirement from court occasioned by temporary defeats in Ssu-ma's struggle to uphold conservative Confucianism against the reformist tendencies of a Sung Dynasty prime minister, Wang An-shih.[4] At the

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2. See Chi Ch'ao-ting, Key Economic Areas in Chinese History, London, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1936, pp. 40-42, 67-69.

3. K. S. Latourette, The Chinese, Their History and Culture, 2nd ed., rev., (Two volumes in one), New York, the MacMillan Company, 1934, Vol. I, pp. 211, 217; also H. A. Giles, A Chinese Biographical Dictionary, London, B. Quaritch, Shanghai, Kelly and Walsh, 1898, pp. 254-56.

4. Latourette, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 253-56; Giles, op. cit., pp. 804-07.

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present time, Honan is represented by Feng (Fung) Yu-lan. One of China's leading modern philosophers, he is currently aligned with the Communist regime, although his previous philosophy was far removed from Marxism.[5]

B. The Integration of Hupeh, Hunan, and Kiangsi

Hupeh, while not in the original cradle of Chinese civilization, appears to have been a part of the Shang state by at least 1300 B.C.[6] The rest of the Central-South provinces were slower in coming into the orbit of Han civilization. For one thing, they were separated from it by inhospitable terrain and the Yangtze River. For another, the peoples of the Yangtze River were products of a different group of interacting cultures than those of the North. Hunting and farming cultures grouped loosely in tribes persisted in the South until the North developed the improved military and agricultural techniques that made possible their expansion beyond the Yangtze.[7]

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5. Fung Yu-lan's A History of Chinese Philosophy, 2 vols., tr. by Derk Bodde, Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, 1953, is one of the best surveys by a Chinese available in the English language.

6. See map in Albert Herrman, Historical and Commercial Atlas of China, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1935, p. 9.

7. For a readable account of the differences between the northern and southern cultures of China and their integration, see references, Footnote 1.

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Before the end of the Shang Dynasty, the northern parts of Hunan and Kiangsi had been incorporated into the Chinese state.[8] Chinese influence was slight, however, until the Ch'in Dynasty (221 to 207 B.C.) settled colonies of drafted soldiers from the North as farmers and military reservists in the provinces.[9] With the rise of the Han, the Sinifying process was intensified and completed.

The most famous names of Hupeh and Hunan in the traditional period are those of semi-historical figures. Some of the greatest battles of the Three Kingdoms period (221 to 226) took place in Hupeh. The military heroes of the time, such as Kuan Yü, have been enshrined in popular tales, which were evolved between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries into one of China's greatest novels -- The Romance of the Three Kingdoms.[10] This work was a particular favorite of Mao Tse-tung, and he has repeatedly drawn on it in his conversations and writings.[11] Hunan is one of China's

8. See map in Herrman, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

9. Harold Wiens, China's March Toward the Tropics, Hamden, Conn., The Shoe String Press, 1954, p. 9.

10. The novel is available in an English translation by C. H. Brewitt-Taylor, San Kuo, or The Romance of the Three Kingdoms, 2 vols., Shanghai, Kelly and Walsh, 1926.

11. See for instance his autobiography as told in Edgar Snow, Red Star over China, rev. ed., Garden City, N. Y., Garden Publishing Co., Inc., 1939, pp. 111-67.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

Hunan is one of China's main sources of myths and legends. The yearly celebration of the nation-wide Dragon Boat Festival, for instance, is attributed to the search for the body of Ch'ü Yüan, a statesman of the Ch'u Kingdom, c. 300 B.C. He had reportedly drowned himself near Changsha to add emphasis to his advice to his prince.[12]

175 773

Kiangsi's most famous personality was the Sung prime minister Wang An-shih (1021 to 1086). His attempts to introduce reforms directed against the rich and in favor of the peasant included the idea of government loans and intervention in agriculture to assure "an ever-normal granary."[13] The program was broadly analagous to the United States Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933.

C. The Slow Process of Integration in Kwangtung and Kwangsi

Kwangtung and Kwangsi were nominally subjected to Chinese rule by the Ch'in Dynasty, but the two provinces did much as they pleased, until conquered by a Han military expedition in 112 B.C. The subsequent settlement of Chinese officials and military agricultural colonies in Kwangtung and Kwangsi tied the 14 provinces more firmly to the Chinese Empire.

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12. Latourette, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 53, 68.
13. Ibid., pp. 253-57.
14. Weins, op. cit., pp. 132-39.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

The Sinification process in Kwangtung was advanced by the T'ang Dynasty (618 to 906) through the establishment of military agricultural colonies in the area and through its use as a place of exile for political and literary figures who had fallen into disgrace in the North. So great was the T'ang influence, that large sections of the Kwangtung people still refer to themselves as T'ang-jen (men of T'ang), rather than as Han-jen (men of Han) as is done commonly in most of China.[15] Under the Sung Dynasty (960 to 1279), Kwangtung became thoroughly Chinese in culture when the nomadic conquest of North China caused a large number of its great families to flee south and settle there. Until recent times, nearly all of the prosperous clans of Kwangtung traced their history back to migration during the Sung period.[16]

While Kwangsi was subject to similar influences, its progress lagged until the end of the Ming Dynasty (1368 to 1644) and the beginning of the Ch'ing Dynasty (1644 to 1911). At least eighty per cent of the families calling themselves Han Chinese today in Kwangsi arrived there since the seventeenth century.[17]

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15. Ibid., p. 41.
16. Ibid., pp. 143-44.
17. Ibid., p. 144.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

[173] 379

The rugged terrain of the province, particularly the western portion, has made it a natural haven for bandits and political dissidents. They have posed a problem for every ruler there, including the current Communist regime.[18]

D. Division of North and South

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While the native cultures of Honan, Kwangsi,

18. A western traveler in Kwangsi around 1910 remarked on the prevalence of robbers in the province; William E. Geil, Eighteen Capitals of China, Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1911, pp. 118-20. In the first half of 1951, a Communist summary of bandit suppression campaigns in South China (Kwangtung and Kwangsi) reported 261, 686 "bandits" killed, wounded or captured. Of this total, 242, 730 were accounted for in Kwangsi: Survey of China Mainland Press, Hong Kong, American Consulate, 172, p. 17. These figures should not be taken as estimates of the actual number of robbers in the two provinces, but as indicative of the relative incidence of overt social and political dissidence in Kwangtung and Kwangsi. The figures evidently do not include members of the Kuomintang army. See Ibid., 212, pp. 23-28; and Current Background, Hong Kong, American Consulate, 39, pp. 18-20. The citations from Survey of the China Mainland Press and Current Background refer to literal translations of material in Communist magazines and newspapers, and should be evaluated accordingly.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

Kiangsi, and Kwangtung were being amalgamated with the predominant Han culture, Honan and northern Hupeh were being subjected to alien influences. The nomads from the north and west of China ruled the North for most of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. Again, from 907 to 1279, it was largely under alien, nomadic rule.[19]

Some differences between North and South in dress, spoken language, and habits of daily life did arise from this separation of China and the admixture of its culture with two alien cultures. Also, the long years of division developed a consciousness within North and South of their separate identities and some antagonism between the regions which has never been eradicated. These differences should not be stressed too much, however. Sufficient numbers of the old families stayed in the north to fill most of the administrative jobs under the alien dynasties and instill Chinese

19. The best accounts of the nomadic conquest and rule of North China are: Eberhard, op. cit., pp. 110-77, 207-39; Wolfram Eberhard, Conquerors and Rulers, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1952, pp. 64-120; and Karl A. Wittfogel, Feng Chia-sheng, et al. History of Chinese Society: Liao (907-1125), issued as Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n. s. 36, 1946, Philadelphia, The American Philosophical Society, 1949.

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Today, the Communists laud the Taiping Rebellion, minimizing its effect in weakening the central government's power to resist foreign penetration. At a time when the western powers were making new demands and using force to back them up, the dynasty was reduced in prestige and deprived of revenue from its richest provinces. The destruction wrought by the Taipings cut into the throne's revenue for years afterward.

The Communists also make much of the revolutionary peasant nature of the Taipings. Although peasant unrest did have a major share in instigating the movement, it was rejected by a large part of the peasantry. The small landowners found no attraction in the Taipings' promise to communalize land-holding and institute other radical departures from the traditional social, political and economic system. Never instituted on any broad scale, the doctrine showed many affinities to an enlightened Communism. Furthermore, it was at the hands of a predominantly peasant army that the Taipings met their first serious setbacks and final defeat. The force was organized and directed by a Hunanese scholar-official, Tseng Kuo-fan.

D. Tseng Kuo-fan

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Tseng is vilified by the present Chinese regime as an utterly ruthless, feudal-minded representative of the scholar-gentry class. In truer perspective, Tseng was one of the last great Confucian statesmen and one of the greatest exemplars of the highest traditions of the scholar

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF14 Central China AF14

gentry class.[27] He was born near Changsha in circumstances as poor as those of the rebel leader he defeated. Unlike Hung Hsiu-ch'üan, Tseng met with brilliant success in the examination system and attained cabinet rank. His full public life thereafter was guided by the high moral principles of the Confucian tradition. In line with this tradition, he understood the economic causes of peasant discontent and the responsibility of scholar-officials to rectify these grievances.[28]

He was also aware of the part western economic penetration played in ruining Chinese businessmen and impoverishing the common people. Advising the emperor to resist further expansion of western business activity in China, Tseng urged that the Chinese foreign office should pay greatest attention to faithfulness, righteousness, and determined resolution in arguing on the basis of th welfare of the common people.[29] On the other hand, he recognized

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27. The main source on Tseng Kuo-fan is W. J. Hail, Tseng Kuo-fan and the Taiping Rebellion, New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press, 1927.

28. See Teng's report on causes and cures of peasant unrest as cited in Teng, op. cit., pp. 43-47.

29. See Teng Ssu-yu and J. K. Fairbank, China's Response to the West; A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1954, pp. 62-64.

the necessity of China to acquire for herself the technical know-how of the West if the nation were to survive. He recommended the training of students abroad and the attempt at home to produce the modern artifacts and arms of the West. During the Taiping Rebellion, he established some of China's first modern arsenals. To his organization of the Hunan peasant militia can be traced the beginnings of China's modern army.

Inadvertently, Tseng contributed to the disunity of China. In defeating the rebellion, he and his subordinate commanders were seldom able to obtain imperial direction and financial aid. To finance and organize efficient fighting forces, they introduced such innovations as personal armies, the likin (a tax on the movement of commercial goods within and across provincial borders), and provincial discretion in the collection and allocation of taxes. These measures laid the foundations for local autonomy and warlord rule that were to plague China up through World War II.

D. Monarchial Reform and Republicanism

For much the same reasons that made Kwangtung a leader in the Taiping Rebellion, that province again played a major part in the monarchial reform and republican movements. The two promotors of the Reform of 1898 were K'ang Yu-wei and his follower, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.[30] Both

30. On K'ang Yu-wei, see Feng, op. cit., pp. 676-91. On Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, see J. R. Levenson, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and the Mind of Modern China, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1953.

M /21 cont./
*101 is washed out and the designs appear. The sixth month is regarded
CC as the beginning of the year. Ox and wine are used in sacrifices
563 to Heaven. When they are sick they do not use medicine, but
M consult sorcerers. Even the poor must kill an animal as a
[805] sacrifice. Before making a move they must divine its propitious-
[782] ness by breaking a reed or picking a chicken bone. Sping opens
[755] with New Year celebrations, in which men blow reed flutes
[787] and women accompany them by ringing tiny bells, dancing
[527] and singing, shoulder to shoulder.
[534] (18) The Yang Pao Miao. — They came from Tsun-I,
[167] Kweichow, being the descendants of the Po chieftain, Yang
Ying-lung. In the thirtieth year of Hung-wu /1397/ in the
Ming period, the Miao complained about the heavy taxation
M and requested a reduction. The then chu-pu /keeper of records/
648 of Lu-ch'i hsien, Sun Ying-lung, went into the native area to
175 calm them. Sun Ying-lung took the chief of the tribe, Yang
CC Erh, to the capital to send up a memorial requesting the establish-
●175 ment of a military and civil Ch'ien Hu So /"thousand men
563 office." The Ch'ien hu was a military station official, in charge
669 of 1,000 men. He and his men held hereditary positions/ at
Chen-ch'i, to pacify the area and set up headquarters, introduce
the new system, with 124 villages organized into ten districts,
and Yang Erh was appointed Po Hu Chang /"100 men leader"/
to control them. Afterward because the Miao at Chen-ch'i
became aggressive, often causing the local officials trouble,
and also because of the isolation of the area and the difficulty
of access, the sub-prefecture /t'ing/ was abolished. The temple
M of Yang Lao Ling Kung worshiped by the Miao was actually
*101 built by Yang Erh. They are all said to be descendants of the
CC Po chieftain.
563
(19) Tzu Chiang Miao. — They originally came from
M Ch'ing-p'ing and Tu-yün in Kweichow. They are fond of fight-
[346] ing and killing. Whenever they sacrifice to the spirits they
[167] mount a ladder made of swords /knives?/. In 1795, in the
[782] reign of Ch'ien Lung, the revolts at Ya-pao-chai and Chi-to-
[648] p'ing mainly involved this tribe. Today there are still some at
CC Ting-niu and Yen-lo.
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2:Ling & Ruey--148 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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CHAPTER SIX

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION — MIAO OFFICIALS

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(1) The Establishment of Miao Official Posts

The development of the Miao area began during the time of the juncture of the Yuan dynasty and the Ming. The geographical section of the Ming Shih /History of the Ming Dynasty/ states: "A ch'ang kuan szu /a native leader set up by the Chinese government to head the district/ was established at Wu-chai during the Yuan dynasty, and in the sixth month of the seventh year of Hung Wu /1374, during the first reign period of the Ming dynasty/ the office was continued. A ch'ang kuan szu was set up at Kan-tzu-p'ing in the sixth month of the year chia ch'en of the first Ming emperor /1359/, at the headquarters of the commander-in-chief at Kan-tzu-p'ing. Later it was abolished. In the seventh month of the third year of the Yung Lo /1405/, it was reestablished." Furthermore, the entry for Headman Hu Kuang in the "T'u szu Lieh Chuan" /Biographies of Headmen/ states: "In the third year of Yung Lo Kung Neng and others at the Ch'en-chou military station summoned Liao Piao and others of the uncivilized Miao /i.e. those not under Chinese control/ from 35 villages of Kan-tzu-p'ing to send sons to pay tribute, and for this reason a ch'ang kuan szu was set up for Kan-tzu-p'ing, with Piao to be the official, under the jurisdiction of Pao-ching." The city of the ch'ang kuan szu of Wu-chai was the present chief city of Feng-huang hsien, but that of Kan-tzu-p'ing was also within Feng-huang, situated 70 li northeast of the chief town of the hsien. In Vol. 3 of the revised edition of Feng-huang T'ing Chih, published in the fourth year of Tao Kuang /1824/, it says: "The old city of the ch'ang kuan szu of Kan-tzu-p'ing was situated 70 li northeast of the T'ing. In the first year of the first Ming emperor /1368/, a yüan-shuai-fu /commander-in-chief's post/ was set up. In the third year of Yung Lo /i.e.

2:Ling & Ruey--149 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
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/104 cont./

1405/ it was changed to ch'ang kuan szu, with two city seats, one on the mountain top and another at the foot of the mountain. Today they have been abolished. The old city of the Wu-chai ch'ang kuan szu is the present seat of the T'ing /i.e. Feng-huang sub-prefecture/ administration, but it has been greatly expanded. During the Ming period all was under the jurisdiction of the Pacification Commissioner at Pao-ching."

Kan Ch'eng was opened somewhat later, when at the end of the Hung Wu reign period /1368-98/ a ch'ien hu suo /a ch'ien hu was an official at a military station, in charge of 1,000 soldiers; suo = office or bureau/ was established. The "Shu Wang P'ien" /historical section/ of the Miao Fang Pei Lan states: "In the second month of the thirtieth year of Hung Wu /1397/ there was set up at Chen-ch'i a military and civilian ch'ien hu bureau. Sun Ying-lung, who was then keeper of the records at Lu-ch'i, proclaimed that the tribal people of the upper five tu /hsien subdivisions/ should be divided into ten li /neighborhoods/, to be under the jurisdiction of Ch'en-chou. Ying-lung was promoted by imperial mandate to be in charge of the pacification. He selected the head ch'ien hu in charge of the ch'ien hu bureau at Chien-ch'ang, Kiangsi, to go to the capital to be given a bronze seal and given the hereditary office of ch'ien hu of Chen-ch'i. When the emperor went to the pavilion to send him on his way, he proclaimed: 'I have a single pellet of Miao territory, and I ask you to go ahead to open up headquarters for bringing the barbarians under our administration. Do what is good for them, and your descendants will enjoy the use /of the office/ without limit.' Moreover, he ordered the Board of War to select Ch'en Ya of Wu-sa military station in Kweichow and Sung Kuei of Lu-chou military station in Szechwan to be assistant ch'ien hu to go with him to assist him. He ordered the Board of Civil Office to select a head constable, and the provincial treasurer to allot for district police officers, who were granted, wrapped up an ivory tablet, paper money, and a silver belt, and entertained ceremoniously, and sent on their way. In the fifth

C /104 cont./
●175 month Tuan Wen reached Chen-ch'i, established the Military
631 Station Office, and inaugurated the system, dividing 124 native
563 villages into ten li, making Yang Erh, the main leader, a
M pe fu ch'ang /head of hundred men/. The other 132 villages
*175 /105/ became a local army 'to protect the city moats.' When
631 there were uprisings then they would be called to service; when
*648 conditions were peaceful then they would disperse as civilians.
C Hence the name, Military and Civilian Office" Chen-ch'i then
[701] is modern Suo-li, which is 20 li northeast of Kan-ch'eng hsien's main city.

Yung-sui was formerly under the jurisdiction of the native headman of Pao-ching, and Liu-li in it was also under the jurisdiction of Kan-chou. In the seventh year of Yung Cheng /1729/, the provincial governor Chao Hung-en and Wang Jou of Ch'en-yüan-ching tao pacified the uncivilized Miao at Liu-li and established a city at Chi-to-p'ing, called Yung-sui. (1)

1. Feng-huang T'ing Chih,
Vol. 1.

C Ku-chang /hsien/ in the Ming period was the territory
[701] under the control of the three senior officials at Shin-tung-ch'i, Pe-ya-tung, and T'ien-chia-tung, under the jurisdiction of the military and civilian pacification commissioner's office at Yung-sui.

Pao-ching was formerly the territory under the control of the Pao-ching pacification commissioner.

M After the five hsien in the Miao frontier region were
[634] opened, from the Yuan and Ming dynasties to the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty, they were under the control of native headmen. During the K'ang Hsi reign period of the early Ch'ing /1662-1722/, a gradual change was begun from native headmen to regular government officials. In the forty-sixth year of K'ang Hsi /1707/, the senior official /ch'ang kuan szu/ at Wu-chai, T'ien Hung-t'ien, being harsh and cruel, the provincial governor, Chao Shen-ch'iao, sent up a memorial

Central China AF14

C /105 cont./
●175 to the Emperor requesting that he be dismissed from office and
631 that no hereditary substitute be allowed. (2) In the forty-eighth
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2. Feng-huang T'ing Chih,
Vol. 11.

year /1709/, because the Miao at Liu-li of the Chen-ch'i Office did not wish to be under the control of the native headman at Pao-ching, they repeatedly requested the change from native headman to government official, and the provincial governor, Chao Shen-ch'iao, again sent up a memorial requesting transference of control to the government. (3) In the fourth

3. Miao Fang Pei Lan,
Vol. 15.

year of Yung Cheng /1726/, the headman at Pao-ching, P'eng Yü-pin, was removed from office for being avaricious and cruel, and in the fifth year the change was made from native headman to government official. Yü-pin was peacefully settled at Liao-yang. (4) In the fifth year of Yung Cheng, the headman

4. Pao-ching Hsien Chih,
Vol. 5.

at Yung-shun, P'eng Chao-huai, personally applied for the change from native headman to government official. He returned to his native place in Chi-shui, Kiangsi. (5) San-t'u-

5. Yung-shun Hsien Chih,
Vol. 15.

chou /"three local chou"/ and Wu-ch'ang-kuan-szu /"five senior officials"/ under the jurisdiction of the headman of Yung-shun were also changed from native to government officials.

2:Ling & Ruey--152 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14

/105 cont./

C
175 631 563 M 175 631 648 622 C [669] After the voluntary change from the native headmen in the Miao frontier region, in each Miao village there was set up a local village chief over 100 families /i.e., a pe hu chai ch'ang, "100 families village chief"/, in order to govern the Miao and bring them under the administration of government officials. But the chiefs of the 100 families were not always Miao, sometimes Chinese being appointed to these positions. As time passed, gradually, there were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues, whose mistreatment caused disturbances, so that the unprecedented Miao rebellion took place during the sixtieth year of Ch'ien Lung /1795/. When the Miao rebellion was put down in the first year of Chia Ch'ing /1796/, it was found that the policy of governing the Miao with Chinese was wrong. The then governor-general of Hunan and Kwangtung, Pi Yüan, submitted a plan to govern the Miao with Miao. (6) The ministry's

M [113]

6. See Pi Yüan: "Tsou Wu Chi Kan-chou Yung-pao Miao Jen Su /A Memorial Sent to the Throne Concerning the Bringing of the Miao People Together in Peace/" in Miao Fang-Pei Lan, Vol. 19, "I Wen Chih /Literary Archives/."

response to the memorial setting up regulations for Miao officials, Miao Chiang Chin-/106/ Yao Shan-Hou Shih I /Important Remedial Measures for the Miao Frontier Region/, has a passage, "Miao Chiang Pe Hu Chai Ch'ang Ming-Mu Ying Cho Liang Keng Ting /The Names of the Village Leaders of 100 Families Should be Decided after Due Deliberation/," stating: "According to the memorial, in the three provinces of Szechwan, Kweichow, and Hupeh, such areas as Yu-yang and T'ung-jen were all previously governed by headmen, but following their application to be put under government officials, the administrative areas of chou, hsien, and ying

/106 cont./

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●175 were established, subject to the jurisdiction of civil and military
631 authorities. In the Miao villages, there were established only
563 village chiefs to govern a unit of 100 families. However, since
M Chinese were also permitted to fill these posts, gradually there
*175 were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues, whose mistreatment
631 caused disturbances. It is requested that from among the Miao
*648 who have submitted, and on whom were conferred the peacock
[622] feather decoration /for merit, in early Ch'ing times/, there be
C selected some intelligent, aware persons, to be appointed at
[703] each ying /military station/ as native second captain /shou-
[701] pei/, lieutenant /ch'ien-tsung/, and sergeant or corporal
[203] /wai-wei/, such positions to be filled through the governor-
general and governor's /tu-wu/ yamen /tu-wu ya-men/ and
to be subject to the control of the civil and military authorities.
When the various t'ang hsin in the Miao area have official
despatches to send, they can order the said native petty officers
to select Miao to question and send, and also to give them
C some cash and rations. When officials traveling on official
[357] business require servants, they may also recruit them from the
Miao, and pay them wages according to the Chinese scales.
C It would appear that the 100-families village chief was
175 originally inaugurated to discipline the Miao, but these men
631 were unimportant and their powers limited, as that the Miao
563 did not heed them. Moreover, among the Chinese holding
M such positions there were rapacious, unscrupulous rogues,
*175 whose mistreatment led to disturbances. This should naturally
631 be explained, deliberated, and changed, so as to fix responsibility.
*648 During the recent campaign those submissive Miao who ac-
622 companied the army and won peacock feather awards are
numerous, therefore from these select those who are intelligent
and aware, and who have the support of the rest, and accord-
ing to the customary set-up of t'u-kuan /officials governing
aboriginal tribes in West China/, every Ying should have one
or two men to be native second captains, under whom there
should be native lieutenants and sergeants, for better control of

C /106 cont./
● 175 631 563 M * 175 631 * 648 [622] [625] C [203] the Miao. Their number will depend upon the number of villages put under control, and they shall be appointed by the governor-general and governor's yamen and also be under the control of regional officials. If there are fights, robberies and thefts among the Miao these native officers will be asked to make the arrests. On their inspection tours, the governor-general and governor and military officials should examine the merits and demerits of these officers and reward or punish them accordingly to demonstrate justice, following the recommendations memorialized by Governor-general Ho Lin. When the t'ang-hsin system of communication in the Miao area has been abolished, official communications should be despatched according to old methods so as to avoid delay. In the regions where the t'ang-hsin system exists as before, the local officials /t'u kuan/ should be asked to pick out honest Miao to be given the responsibility of delivering messages after being questioned, to be paid wages and rations from unallotted funds, according to the scale for t'un soldiers. When officials traveling on official business need servants, then order the said Miao to serve, and pay them wages according to recommendations memorialized." (1)

C [357]

1. See "I Wen Chih" in Miao Fang Pei Lan, Vol. 19.

M [622] According to the despatch quoted above the Miao officials, although they were military officers such as the native shou-pei and ch'ien-tsung, aside from their jurisdiction over the Miao soldiers, were also given considerable authority in Miao civilian affairs. In the tenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1805/ /107/ the t'un land within the Miao area were placed under the control of Miao officials. Article 8 of Pu Fu T'un t'ien Chang-ch'eng /The Ministry's Reply concerning Regulations about the T'un Land/ states: "It would seem that after the Miao rebels were pacified in the present year in the various localities of Yung-sui,

M [425]

/107 cont./

the Miao were greatly impressed by the strength of the Imperial army and surrendered land previously forcefully occupied by them. Also it would seem that if there was property of refractory Miao; it was confiscated. The fields were distributed among the law-abiding Miao to plant and pay rent, so that a Miao army could be raised and supported. Now the usurped land surrendered in the various villages totals more than 30,100 mu, and the land confiscated from the property of the rebel Miao totals more than 5,040 mu. These are now being separately registered, distributed for tilling for rent, and the revenues derived therefrom should be able to support 5,000 Miao soldiers. Among the 9,900 native Miao soldiers discharged over time and remaining, those able to bring up a plan to make a living have been sent back to their villages, and those who are old, weak, and poor have been given fields to till. Now 5,000 strong and healthy Miao soldiers have been selected, 2,000 of whom come from Feng-huang sub-prefecture; 800, from Kan-chou sub-prefecture; 1,800 from Yung-sui sub-prefecture; 100, from Ku-chang-p'ing sub-prefecture; and 300, from Pao-ching hsien. To collect the grain given over as rent, the Miao petty officers have selected in the various villages spots for building granaries to store away the public grain. Two or three honest Miao officers are chosen for each granary to supervise receipts and disbursements of the grain. The said 35,000 mu of arable land is estimated to be capable of yielding more than 22,000 shih of seeds of grain. It is estimated that there remain in various Miao granaries about 40 shih of seeds of grain, which will be used to fill the need for rations for the Miao soldiers in the intercalary month. The Miao officers are still ordered to report the actual receipts of rent grain every year." (1)

1. "Chün T'un" in Hunan Miao Fang T'un Ch'eng Kao /Study of the Administration of the Defense T'un of the Miao Area in Hunan/, Vol. 5, pp. 56-57.

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/107 cont./

Miao Area in Hunan/,
Vol. 5, pp. 56-57.

Thus a Miao official was a military official having concurrent judicial and financial duties, whose power actually was equivalent to that of a t'u-szu /headman/. The only difference was that the position was not hereditary. As for the procedure of appointment, according to a reply from the Board of War in the twenty-eighth year of Tao Kuang /1848/, Miao Pei P'ieh Chi Ta /?/ Chang-ch'eng /Regulations concerning the Commissioning of Petty Officers of Miao Defense/, it is stated: "The 486 Miao officers in the five sub-prefectures and hsien of Ku-chang-p'ing, consisting of shou-pei, ch'ien-tsung, pa-tsung, and wai-wei, were recommended by the sub-prefectures and hsien to Ch'en-yüan tao for approval, and then commissioned with official seals by the governor-general, governor, and provincial commander-in-chief. According to the regulations for the promotion of Miao t'un officers, a pa-tsung is considered by the tao and then appointed by the Board; the wai-wei is appointed directly by the tao, and when the pa-tsung becomes due for promotion to ch'ien-tsung, his commission must be confirmed by the governor-general and governor, and when the ch'ien-tsung is promoted to shou-pei, his record must be examined by the commander-in-chief. Today, in the appointment of Miao petty officers, even wai-wei have to be commissioned by the governor-general and governor, hence there is a great deal of red tape involved. It is recommended that the Miao defense petty officers can be selected according to the regulations governing the t'un petty officers of the tao troups /piao, "banner"/. Hereafter the Miao wai-wei and pa-tsung are to be changed to be appointed by the tao, the Miao ch'ien-tsung to be appointed by the provincial governor with official seal, and the shou-pei to be appointed by the governor-general. The Board of War has found that the previous procedure of appointing Miao officials, through joint deliberation of the provincial governor-general, governor, and commander-in-chief is /108/ too involved,

C /108 cont./
175 and in order to simplify it the recommendations in the memorial
631 of the said governor-general should be followed." From this it
563 may be seen that in the beginning, the appointment of a Miao
701 official was regarded as a serious matter. A petty officer such
M as a wai wei had to be commissioned by the governor-general
*175 and governor.
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*648
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(2) The Organization of Miao Officials

. With regard to the organization of Miao officials at that time, it differed somewhat in the five hsien and sub-prefectures of the Miao region. Feng-huang sub-prefecture had four ying /battalions/: the middle ying's two Miao shou-pei /second captains/, four ch'ien-tsung /lieutenants/, six pa-tsung /sergeants/, and 20 wai wei /corporals/ were in charge of 96 villagers, totaling 2,680 families, consisting of 6,230 men and 3,479 women. The left ying's two Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, and 15 wai wei are in charge of 63 villages, totaling 2,387 families, consisting of 5,795 men and 4,673 women. The right ying's four Miao shou-pei, seven ch'ien-tsung, 13 pa-tsung, and eleven wai-wei were in charge of 179 villages, totaling 4,191 families, comprising 9,710 men and 6,090 women. The front ying's three shou-pei, six ch'ien-tsung, 12 pa-tsung, and 14 wai wei were in charge of 191 villages, totaling 3,985 families, comprising 8,466 men and 5,162 women. The above eleven shou-pei, 20 ch'ien-tsung, 37 pa-tsung, and 60 wai wei, totaling 128 Miao petty officers, were in charge of 529 villages, 13,243 families with 30,201 men and 19,404 women, a total population of 49,605. From the various families 2,000 Miao soldiers were chosen, 400 of them being soldiers receiving rations. (1)

M [162]

M [162]

1. Feng-huang T'ing Chih, Vol. 11.

M [162] Kan-ch'eng was also divided into four ying — the middle, left, right, and front yings. The middle ying's one Miao

/108 cont./

shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, three pa-tsung, and six wai-wei were in charge of 15 villages, with 425 families, comprising 981 men and women. The left ying's one Miao shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, and eight wai-wei were in charge of 86 villages, totaling 1,784 families with 5,992 men and women. The right ying's one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, and five wai-wei were in charge of 18 villages, with 701 families, comprising 1,095 men and women. The front ying's one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two pa-tsung, /109/ and six wai-wei administered eleven villages, consisting of 430 families, with 993 men and women. The above four Miao shou-pei, six ch'ien-tsung, 13 pa-tsung, and 25 wai-wei, totaling 48 Miao petty officers, controlled 130 villages, 3,340 families with 7,061 men and women. Moreover, 800 Miao soldiers were recruited from the various families. (1)

1. Kan-chou T'ing Chih, Vol. 7.

In the organization at Yung-sui, they were known as li, not ying. The whole region was divided into 12 li, each li having one shou-pei. The Upper Fifth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two pa-tsung, three wai-wei, 15 fighting soldiers /chan ping/, and 85 guard soldiers /shou ping/, controlling 840 families, with 4,192 men and women. The Lower Fifth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, two pa-tsung, six wai-wei, 15 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, over 446 families with 1,440 men and women. The Upper Sixth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, nine wai-wei, 22 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, over 992 families with 4,101 men and women. The Lower Sixth Li had one Miao shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, seven pa-tsung, nine wai-wei, 29 fighting soldiers, and 129 guard soldiers, in control of 1,307 families with 6,386 men and women. The Upper Seventh Li had one Miao shou-pei,

/109 cont./

three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, eight wai-wei, 61 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 154, controlling an area of 726 families with 2,767 men and women. The Lower Seventh Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, 12 wai-wei, 48 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 133 men, governing 1,109 families with 4,313 men and women. The Upper Eighth Li had one Miao shou-pei, one ch'ien-tsung, no pa-tsung, four wai-wei, nine fighting soldiers, and 61 guard soldiers, governing 302 families with 1,298 men and women. The Lower Eighth Li had one Miao shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, five pa-tsung, seven wai-wei, 48 fighting men, and a guard force of 135 men, controlling 595 families with 1,650 men and women. The Upper Ninth Li /110/ had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, eight pa-tsung, 14 wai-wei, 32 fighting men, and a guard force of 138 men, governing 2,337 families with 9,413 men and women. The Lower Ninth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, six pa-tsung, 14 wai-wei, 32 fighting men, and a guard force of 138 men, governing 1,480 families with 7,264 men and women. The Upper Tenth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, eight pa-tsung, 21 wai-wei, 19 fighting men, and a guard force of 131 men, governing 1,128 families with 4,529 men and women. The Lower Tenth Li had one Miao shou-pei, three ch'ien-tsung, five pa-tsung, ten wai-wei, 18 fighting soldiers, and a guard force of 82 men, governing 843 families with 3,600 men and women. The above 12 Miao shou-pei, 28 ch'ien-tsung, 57 pa-tsung, and 115 wai-wei were set up in the second year of Chia Ch'ing /1797/ when the 100-family system was abolished. These lower officials went back and forth, controlling the scattered Miao in the various li. The guard force of 1,800 men was set up in the tenth year /1805/ and its men were retained from the Miao soldiers of the disbanded t'u t'ang /?/. The 384 fighting men were appointed in 1805 and picked from among the guard soldiers. (1)

1. Yung-sui T'ing Chih, Vols. 6 and 15.

/110 cont./

C
● 175 The fourth, sixth, seventh, and eighth tu /subdivision
631 of a hsien/ in Pao-ching each had a Miao shou-pei, nine
563 ch'ien-tsung, 12 pa-tsung, 31 wai-wei, and 300 Miao soldiers.
701 (2)
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*175
631 The Miao officials appointed at Ku-chang-p'ing included
*648 one shou-pei, two ch'ien-tsung, four pa-tsung, 12 wai-wei,
622 and 100 Miao soldiers, controlling 58 Miao villages. (3)
701
[162]

3. Ku-chang-p'ing T'ing Chih, Vol. 2.

Regulations concerning Miao officials were set up in the second year of Chia Ch'ing (1797), and were still in existence when the authors were carrying out their investigations in the Miao area in 1933. The four yings — front, left, right, and middle — at Feng-huang have been made into eleven yings due to the presence of eleven shou-pei. The subdivisions of Pao-ching formerly called tu are now called ch'ü, but the structure remains the same.

Since the Miao rebellion during the Ch'ien Lung reign
C period /1736-95/, the authorities have prohibited Chinese from
631 entering Miao country. Furthermore, since the Miao dreaded
563 seeing Chinese officials, then the Miao shou-pei, ch'ien-tsung,
701 pa-tsung, and wai-wei were set up with the responsibility of
[669] controlling the Miao. In cases when the Miao were involved
M in such affairs as fights or theft, these petty officers were
701 charged with the responsibility of apprehending the offenders.
631 For the official despatches to be sent it was necessary to rely
*648 on them to get the messengers, and the pressing for rents and
622 grain were also under the Miao officials' control. Moreover, the Miao petty officials were asked to submit seasonal affidavits as to whether there were Chinese entering the Miao villages.

[Text continues on p165]

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/112 cont./

The policy of having Miao officials to govern the Miao has been in practice now for 140 years. At the time of the original separation of the execution and administrative functions between the Chinese and the Miao, the idea of Miao regulating the Miao could be said to have been aimed at the abuses of the time. But now after a hundred and some tens of years, the Miao have gradually been sinicized. Formerly, there was the difference between the civilized and uncivilized Miao, but today they have all become civilized. The policy of separate administration for the Miao and the Chinese has been informally discarded. Consequently, the regulations for Miao officials should be abolished. But, since the Republic, the Miao officials are still able to exist, largely because Chinese officials have been profiting by taking bribes for filling official posts. On the other hand, since the Miao officials get their positions through paying bribes, they go to great lengths to make extortions from the Miao people. The Miao people detest the Miao petty officials more than they do the Chinese officials. Moreover, today, the various hsien in the Miao area have been changed to the system of hsiang /villages/ and chen /towns/, each governed by a head, known as hsiang chang or chen chang, respectively. In view of this change, Miao officials have become superfluous. It is hoped that the authorities in the region will be able to do away with them soon.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

T'UN FIELDS

(1) Successive Changes in T'un Defense

Trouble with the Miao in western Hunan began in the Ming dynasty. But because of using an administrative policy of blockade against Miao country, the 270 years under the Ming

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175 /113 cont./
563 did not witness serious trouble. The method of this blockade
669 consisted of setting up stone guard posts /tiao-pao/, establishing
712 guard stations /ying shao/, and building border walls, strictly
M demarcating the boundary between the Chinese and Miao areas,
*175 without allowing any infringement by one on the other. The
*648 section on government in the historical section of Miao Fang Pei Lan, recording the system of defense against the Miao during the Ming dynasty, has this to say: "During the fifth year of Hsüan Te /i.e. 1430/, the senior official /chang kuan/ at Kan-tzu-p'ing, Wu Pi-lang, and the Miao of Tung-jen, Kweichow, started a rebellion. The brigadier general /tsung ping kuan/, Hsiao Shou, built 24 guard posts /pao/ around the area to protect it. In the thirty-first year of Chia Ching /i.e. 1552/, the Miao in Hupeh-Hunan and Kweichow were pacified.

C The Court sent Governor General Chang Yo to hold down Yüan-
175 chou. Yo in consultation with Assistant Commissioner /fu shih/
563 Kao Hsien, and Lieutenant Colonel /ts'an chiang/ Sun Hsien
712 drew up a plan to abolish the guard posts at Wan-chi. Then he built 12 outposts /shao/ called: Wu-chai, Yung-an, Ch'ing-ch'i, Ho-k'ou, Kan-tzu, Kan-chou, Ch'iang-hu, Shih-yang, Shao-p'o, Tung-hsin, Shui-t'ang-yao, Shui-t'ien-ying, which with that at Chen-ch'i-so came to 13 in all. Every guard station had a wall, a tower, a drill yard, a narrow gate, an office, and a community storehouse /she ts'ang/. The officer corps

C included a tu-pei /"head of senior soldiers"/, ling-pan /"sec-
175 tion leader"/, ling-tui /"company leader"/, ling-cheng
563 /"recruitment and arms officer?"/, kuan-piao /"keeper of
701 banners"/, kuan-ts'ang /"keeper of the storehouse"/, and li-mu /"head constable and keeper of the jail"/. The local official had under him t'ou-mu /"headmen"/, she-jen /"official secretaries"/, shih-tzu /"readers"/, chien-pu /"strong walkers"/,

M ta-shou /?lit., "move the hands"/ hsiang-t'u /?lit., geogra-
[701] phers"/, po-k'ai /heralds/, and the Ch'i Miao soldiers. In all the officers and men totaled 6,000 or more, commanded by a lieutenant colonel /ts'an-chiang piao ying/, with a second

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/113 cont./

C captain /shou-pei/ assisting him. Moreover, at the two mili-
175 tary stations /wei/ of Ch'en and Yüan, the frontier guard officers
563 and men, amounted to 6,600 or more, and the annual disburse-
701 ment to the Yüan-chou treasury for paying the troops was more
M than 30,089 /sic/ liang of silver, that to the Ma-yang, Ch'ien-
[701] yang, and Kan-chou military rations granaries and the autumn government rations at Chen-ch'i-so were 31,890 or more. At this time, the lieutenant colonel /tsan-chiang Tu-ling/ directed matters at the top, the majors /yu-chi/ and second captains /shou-pei/ attended to things at the middle level, and the guard stations /ying-shao/ carried out defense duties at the lower level. Furthermore, fearing the difficulty of communications in times of trouble, it was arranged for the sake of convenience as follows: 'For operations involving under 3,000 men, decisions may be made on the spot, but for operations involving more than 3,000 men, the decision must be made after consultation with the military defense officials. As the number of soldiers increased and generals became more strong, the border regions became more quiet and peaceful. In the
C forty-third year Wan Li /i.e. 1615/, the Military Defense Ts'an
175 Cheng, Ts'ai Fu-i, because the guard stations being spread out
563 and the Miao roads rugged, it was difficult to prevent spying,
712 applied for an appropriation of 40,000 or more gold for the
M construction of a frontier earth wall, starting from T'ung-jen
* 648 and going down to Pao-ching guard station, along mountains
* 175 and extending in all more than 300 li, so that frontier defense
C could be made somewhat more /114/ secure. In the second
[631] year of T'ien Ch'i /i.e. 1622/, a provincial governor was set up at P'ien-yüan.... The then pei tao fu shih /assistant commissioner of defense?/ Hu I-hung at Ch'en Yüan despatched Major Teng Tsu-yü from Chen-ch'i-so to Hsi-ch'üeh-ying to build an additional 60 more li of frontier wall." (1)

1. Miao Fang Pei Lan, Vol. 15.

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During the Ts'ung Cheng reign period /1628/ /the end of the Ming dynasty/, the Miao rebelled, demolishing the guard stations and leveling the border wall. The "Great Wall" to blockade Miao country disappeared. The 7,800 guard troops /shou ping/ in the Miao area of the Ming dynasty were reduced to 1,600 men at the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty. When the rebellion of Wu San-kwei was pacified and all was peaceful again, there was another reduction of 500 men, leaving 1,100 men. Military strengh was slight and the defense system was relaxed. Further, following the change from native headmen to Chinese officials, and the use of Chinese as the head of every hundred families, intercourse between the Chinese and the Miao was no longer prohibited. In the twenty-ninth year of Ch'ien Lung /i.e. 1764/, in view of the Miao having undergone acculturation for a long time, they were allowed to intermarry with the Chinese. The original idea was to change the Miao by teaching, but with the passing of time evils developed, when rapacious Chinese under the pretext of trade entered the Miao area and seduced crafty Miao to enter into thievery. Unlike soldiers they entered Miao country for personal reasons and mistreated the Miao. The Miao made a pretext of these guest men's exploitations and encroachments on their land and banded together to make trouble, and brought about the great rebellion during the Ch'ien Lung /1736-95/ and Chia Ch'ing /1796-1820/ reign periods. After the rebellion was put down, the Manchu court realized that the time was yet inopportune to change the Miao by teaching, and the blockade policy was once more used. The various hsiens along the Miao border were heavily garrisoned for protection.

Cheng-kan-chen /Chen-kan Brigade/ was set up at Fenghuang, headed by a brigade general /tsung ping kuan/, controlling four ying /battalions/ —middle, right, front, and left, with three majors, one captain /tu-szu/, four second captains /shou-pei/, eight lieutenants /ch'ien-tsung/, 19 sergeants /pa-tsung/, 23 corporals /wai-wei/, 14 supernumeraries /e-wai/, and a total of 3,389 soldiers.

/114 cont./

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175 Sui-ching-chen /Sui-ching Brigade/ was established at
563 Hua-yüan, Yung-sui (today under Yung-sui hsien), where were
701 stationed one brigade general, one major, one captain, two
M second captains, three lieutenants, six sergeants, nine corporals,
701 five supernumeraries, and a total of 1,440 soldiers, taking part in the defense of nine guard stations. At Yung-sui there was also set up the Yung-sui Hsieh with one assistant brigade general /fu-chiang/, one captain, two second captains, three lieutenants, seven sergeants, eight corporals, eight supernumeraries, and 1,240 soldiers. They controlled seven outposts, under the direction of the Sui-ching Chen at Hua-yüan.

Kan-chow Hsieh was established in Kan-ch'eng with an assistant brigade general, one major, one captain, three second captains, two lieutenants, ten sergeants, nine corporals, ten supernumeraries, and 1,400 soldiers, who defended 15 outposts under the direction of the provincial commander in chief /ti-tu/.

/115/ In Pao-ching there was set up one ying with one lieutenant colonel /tsan-chiang/, two second captains, two lieutenants, five sergeants, nine corporals, ten supernumeraries, and 952 soldiers, defending 19 guard stations, subject to the direction of the Sui-ching Chen at Hua-yüan.

The Ku-chang-p'ing ying was established at Ku-chang, with a captain, two lieutenants, three sergeants, three corporals, three supernumeraries, and in all 740 soldiers, stationed at the ying headquarters but defending the various military posts.

C
M5 At that time in addition to stationing heavy complements
563 of soldiers in the Miao area, there were also put up a total of
701 1,121 stone guard houses /tiao ch'ia/ along the ruins of the
712 wall left from the Ming dynasty. In addition to the stationing
M of government troops at important positions, there were more
*175 than 800 of these guard houses where 9,000 soldiers were left
*648 to protect the border. Later when the nation became short of money, it was not possible to maintain large forces in this deep interior area for defense. Thus, suddenly, the frontier guards were withdrawn, then the stone guard houses became empty, and there was fear that the fierce Miao would start a rebellion.

/115 cont./

000 empty, and there was fear that the fierce Miao would start a
C rebellion. At this time Fu Nai of Yüan-ch'en tao met with
●175 Brigade General Fu Chih-na of Chen-kan Chen and summoned
563 together people of the sub-prefecture to discuss a long-range
701 plan. And so they began the t'un system of defense. Fields
651 were allotted to feed the fighters and to defend the guard houses
425 against the Miao. As for the people's /i.e. Chinese/ land,
except for fields for sustenance, a male could retain three tou
of grain, a woman one tou. As for the rest of the land seven
were allotted while three were retained, for one shih of grain
three tou was personally retained, and seven tou given up for
C allotment, to feed the fighters and guard the frontier. In the
[712] Feng-huang area there were more than 830 stone guard houses,
requiring 4,000 men to man them in rotation. Further, 1,000
men were trained to be combat ready. The more than 22,000
mu of land allotted were not enough to meet the expense, and
so another allotment of more than 12,300 mu at Lu-ch'i and
C Mo-yang was made. There were also 127 stone petty military
[712] stations /tiao pao/ at Kan-chou, manned by 800 soldiers,
supported by more than 2,170 mu of allotted land. The
original sect of government of Yung-sui, before the Miao
rebellion during the reign period of Ch'ien Lung and Chia Ch'ing,
was at Wei-ch'eng, which was entirely surrounded by the Miao.
In the second year of Chia Ch'ing /1797/, the seat of govern-
C ment was moved to Hua-yüan with a newly built yamen.
[712] There were 126 stone guard houses with 2,000 soldiers. The
people's land, i.e. Chinese land, usurped by rebels and re-
covered for public use, totaled more than 17,110 mu. There
were over 70 stone military stations /tiao pao/, at Pao-ching,
with 300 soldiers and over 2,170 mu of allotted land. There
were only 18 stone guard houses at Ku-chang-p'ing with a
hundred soldiers and over 120 mu of allotted land.

M The above refers to Chinese t'un /min t'un/. In addition,
* [175] there were also Miao t'un. After the suppression of the Miao
* [648] rebellion, the Miao tribes, awed by military might, surrendered
[651] all the Chinese land formerly forcefully usurped by them, and
[727]
[425]

/115 cont./ also searched into the properties of the rebel Miao and decided to return them for public use. The forcefully usurped land totaling over 30,100 mu and the rebels' properties totaling over 5,400 mu were redistributed among the law-abiding Miao to farm. Granaries were built to collect rent /tsu/ for the maintenance of Miao soldiers. The pressing for rent, the inspecting of fields, the distribution and transportation of grain, and other duties were all the responsibility of Miao officials.

/116/ The total amount of Chinese land and Miao land given up for allotment in the seven sub-prefectures and hsiens of the Miao area was as follows: (1)

1. Hunan Miao Fang T'un Ch'eng K'ao, Chapter 7, "Chün T'un San," "Chün T'un T'ien Tu Ts'ung Shu" /"The Total Amount of Allotted T'un Land," in "Allotted T'un," 3/," numbers set after the subduing of the Miao in 1797.

1. Feng-huang Sub-prefecture
   (1) Allotted fields 22,080.6 mu (allotted in the fifth year of Chia Ch'ing /1800/).
   (2) Fields returned to public use 3,539 mu (Chinese fields usurped by the Miao but surrendered when called on and returned for public use).
   (3) Fields redeemed by the government 5,587.3 mu. (Chinese fields granted to the Miao at a low pledge but redeemed by the government for public use).
   (4) Fields usurped by the rebels surrendered by the Miao 7,650.8 mu (Miao rebels' property, wrongfully farmed by them, surrendered to the government for public use).
   (5) Usurped rebel land returned by the Miao 5,983.7 mu (same as above).

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(6) Private fields presented by Miao 1,595.7 mu (private property contributed by Miao after receiving an official post).

(7) Reclaimed fields 145.8 mu (barren land without crops reclaimed by soldiers).

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2. Kan-chou Sub-prefecture

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(1) Allotted fields 3,628.8 mu.

(2) Land redeemed by the government 776.5 mu.

(3) Usurped rebel fields surrendered by the Miao 3,487 mu.

(4) Usurped rebel land surrendered by the Miao 196.1 mu.

(5) Disputed usurped fields given up by the Miao 578.5 mu (now become public fields).

(6) Disputed usurped land given up by the Miao 48.8 mu (same as above).

(7) Private fields surrendered by Miao on request 604.6 mu.

3. Ku-chang-p'ing Sub-prefecture

(1) Allotted fields 529.7 mu.

/117/ (2) Fields redeemed by the government 93.4 mu.

(3) Usurped rebel fields surrendered by the Miao 127.8 mu.

(4) Private fields given up by other Miao 227 mu.

4. Pao-ching Sub-prefecture

(1) Allotted fields 2,178.6 mu.

(2) Fields redeemed by the government 628.6 mu.

(3) Usurped rebel fields surrendered by the Miao 1,476 mu.

(4) Usurped rebel land surrendered by the Miao 303.6 mu.

(5) Private fields presented by Miao petty officers 300.2 mu.

(6) Disputed usurped fields given over by the Miao 296.9 mu.

C /117 cont./
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5. Yung-sui Sub-prefecture
   (1) Fields returned to public use 16,114.3 mu (Chinese fields usurped by the Miao taken back by the government for public use).
   (2) Redeemed fields 8,468.7 mu.
   (3) Rebel fields surrendered by the Miao 5,940.7 mu.
   (4) Rebel land surrendered by the Miao 9,895.7 mu.
   (5) Private fields contributed by Miao petty officers 500.4 mu.
   (6) Disputed usurped fields given up by the Miao 287 mu.
   (7) Disputed usurped land given up by the Miao 345.6 mu.
   (8) Reclaimed fields 2,545.5 mu.
   (9) Reclaimed land 10,130 mu.
6. Lu-ch'i Hsien
   (1) Allotted fields 5,382.5 mu.
7. Mo-yang Hsien
   (1) Allotted fields 6,983.1 mu.

/118/ The total of the above fields and land is 131,640.6 mu. In the thirteenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1808/ a total of 15,219.3 mu of fields and land was surveyed in the three hsien, Feng-huang, Kan-chou, and Yung-sui. In the sixteenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1811/ another total of 5,873.2 mu of fields and land was surveyed, totaling 152,157.1 mu of fields and land. Of this besides the land allocated to the army for horses and farming, land lost through floods and erosion, and also the land used for stone guard houses and surroundings, totaling 11,084.3 mu, and another 37,849 mu distributed among the t'un able-bodied males, leaders, the aged, and the young, there remained 103,223.8 mu. Farmers were recruited to farm this land and rent /in kind/ collected. The annual receipt in grain totaled 105,488 shih, three tou, and nine sheng.

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The Miao frontier region is mountainous and lacking in fields. For the most part they develop mountain slopes, building up terraced fields for the cultivation of rice grown in

/118 cont./

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flooded fields. Whenever the terraced fields are damaged by flood and erosion when mountain streams flood, the damage is often beyond repair, resulting in a decrease of rent year by year. Furthermore, the government has several times decreed a reduction of rent, so that the current rent rate is only one-half of the original. Successive rent reductions undergone were as follows: in the nineteenth year of Chia Ch'ing /1814/ a reduction of 5,500 shih was made; in the first year of Tao Kuang /1821/ a reduction of 20,770 shih was made; in the eighteenth year of Tao Kuang /1838/ after an investigation of fields destroyed by flood, a reduction of 282 shih, 7 tou, 7 sheng, 6 shuo was effected; in the twenty-eighth year of Tao Kuang /1848/ a reduction of 649 shih, 1 tou, 8 sheng, 1 ho. After the above reductions there remained a rent of 78,286 shih, 4 tou, 4 sheng, 4 ho, 6 shuo. In the twenty-ninth year of Tao Kuang /1849/ there was a further reduction amounting to 7,828 shih, 6 tou, 4 sheng, 4 ho, 4 shuo, resulting in the collection of 70,457 shih, 8 tou, 1 shuo of rent. It was ruled that no further reductions would be made. It was also ordered that for every 6 ho /of grain/ there would be collected 1 sheng, but below six ho nothing would be collected, thereby causing a loss of 352 shih, 3 tou, 1 sheng, 1 shuo. Since that year the annual rent has totaled 70,105 shih, 4 tou, 9 sheng. From the twenty-ninth year of Tao Kuang /1849/ to the end of the Ch'ing dynasty, after deducting 179 shih, 4 tou, 9 sheng of rent uncollectible due to flood and erosion, the net receipt of rent totaled 69,926 shih. From the first year of the Republic /1912/ to the sixteenth or seventeenth year, the reductions due to floods totaled 2,917 shih, 4 tou, 9 sheng, 2 ho. In the twenty-second year of the Republic /1933/, according to investigations made by the authors in western Hunan, the net rent was 67,008 shih, 5 tou, 8 ho. According to a statement

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[113]

in the Hsiang Hsi Miao Ch'ü T'un Fang Chün T'un T'ien T'u Yen Ke /Successive Changes in Land Allotted to Defensive T'un in the Miao Area West of the Hsiang River/, recently published by Yü Fan-ch'uan;

2:Ling & Ruey--175 E-5 (1933) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5
Central China AF14
C 175 651 563 M *175 *648 657

/118 cont./ by Yü Fan-ch'uan: "The decision of the first conference on t'un matters held in the twenty-fifth year of the Republic /1936/ was to reduce the rental on devastated land 1,592 shih, 3 tou, 8 sheng, 8 ho. Currently, the actual receipt of rent is 65,416 shih, 1 tou, 2 sheng." (1)

1. Pien Chiang /Frontier/, Vol. 2, no. 2.

(2) The Organization of T'un Defense

C 175 [701]

1. The organization of the t'un defense /system/ during the early Ch'ing dynasty.

M [701]

(1) Feng-huang Sub-prefecture. T'un second captains 3, t'un lieutenants 4, t'un sergeants 4, t'un corporals 10, supernumeraries 9, Miao second captains 11, Miao lieutenants 20, Miao sergeants 40, Miao corporals 80, general t'un leaders /tsung t'un chang/ 15, special t'un leaders /san t'un chang/ 60, home guard /lien yung/ 1,000, old and young males 1,000, able-bodied t'un males /t'un ting/ 4,000, Miao soldiers 1,000, t'un camps 27, Miao camps 25, stone houses 544, t'un guard houses 105, guard stations 51, patrol stations 98, canon emplacements 7, gates 24, gate houses 5. The above stone houses, guard houses, guard stations, patrol stations, gun emplacements, gates, and gate houses totaled 834 units. There were 63 t'un and Miao granaries, and the fixed rent was 25,461 shih, 3 tou, 9 sheng, 6 ho, 8 shuo. Shotguns numbered 7,022, swords 300, spears 100, and hand guns /shou p'ao/ 40. The above guns, swords, and spears amounted to 16,229 weapons.

C [712] C [651] C [713]

(2) Kan-chou Sub-prefecture. T'un second captain 1, t'un sergeant 1, t'un corporals 2, t'un supernumeraries 2, Miao second captains 4. Miao lieutenants 6, Miao sergeants 13, Miao corporals 13, Miao corporals 25, general t'un leaders 4, special t'un leaders 21, able-bodied t'un males 600, Miao soldiers 800, t'un camps 8, Miao camps 10, stone houses 75,

C [701] M [701] C [712]

C /119 cont./
175 t'un guard houses 13, guard stations 28, gun emplacements 4,
712 gates 5, gate houses 2. The above stone houses, guard houses,
guard stations, patrol posts, gun emplacements, gates, and
C gate houses totaled 128 units. There were 11 t'un and Miao
651 granaries, and the set rent was 7,725 shih, 1 tou, 3 sheng,
713 2 ho, 9 shuo. Shotguns were 3,244, hand guns 10, swords 100,
spears 395. The above weapons totaled 5,841 weapons.

C (3) Yung-sui Sub-prefecture. T'un second captains 2,
701 t'un lieutenants 2, t'un sergeants 3, t'un corporals /120/ 3,
M t'un supernumeraries 3, Miao second captains 12, Miao
701 lieutenants 28, Miao sergeants 57, Miao corporals 115, general
t'un leaders 12, special t'un leaders 33, t'un males 2,000, old
C and young males 800, Miao soldiers 1,800, t'un camps 13,
712 Miao camps 19, stone houses 67, t'un guard houses 20, guard
stations 29, gates 8, gate houses 3. The above stone houses,
guard houses, guard stations, gates, and gate houses totaled
C 127. There were 21 t'un and Miao granaries, and the set rent
651 was 29,756 shih, 6 tou, 4 sheng, 8 ho, 8 shuo, 3 ch'ao.
713 There were 4,915 shotguns, 190 swords, 3,295 spears, totaling
14,300 weapons.

C (4) Ku-chang-p'ing Sub-prefecture. T'un sergeant 1,
701 t'un supernumerary 1, Miao second captain 1, Miao lieutenant
2, Miao sergeant 4, Miao corporal 12, general t'un leader 1,
M special t'un leaders 4, t'un males 100, Miao soldiers 100,
701 Miao camps 4, stone houses 15, guard stations 4. The above
stone houses, guard houses, and guard stations totaled 19.
C There were 3 t'un and Miao granaries, with a set rent of 523
712 shih, 7 tou, 1 sheng, 3 ho, 5 shuo, 3 ch'ao. There were 655
651 shotguns, 369 swords, and 368 spears, totaling 1,828 weapons.
713 (5) Pao-ching Hsien. T'un corporals 2, t'un supernumera-
701 ries 2, Miao second captains 4, Miao lieutenants 9, Miao
M sergeants 12, Miao corporals 31, general t'un leaders 3, special
701 t'un leaders 12, t'un males 300, Miao soldiers 300, t'un camps
2, Miao camps 12, stone houses 30, t'un guard houses 30,
C guard stations 25, gate 1, gate house 1. The stone houses,
712

C /120 cont./
175 guard houses, guard stations, gate, and gate houses totaled 70.
712 There were 9 t'un and Miao granaries, the set rent was 4,023
651 shih, 1 tou, 1 sheng, 4 ho, 2 shuo. There were 552 shotguns,
[713] 684 swords, and 844 spears, totaling 2,938 weapons.

(6) Mo-yang Hsien. General t'un leaders 2, special t'un
C leaders 10; t'un granaries 11, set rent 7,323 shih, 7 tou, 5
[701] sheng, 5 ho, 8 shuo, 5 ch'ao.

(7) Lu-ch'i Hsien. General t'un leaders 3, special t'un leaders 20, t'un granaries 13, set rent 4,414 shih, 6 ton, 1 sheng, 8 ho, 9 ch'ao.

C /121/ The above seven sub-prefectures and hsiens had a
175 total of 56 t'un officers, 486 Miao officers, 200 t'un leaders,
[701] 1,000 home guards, 7,000 t'un males, 1,800 old and young
M males, and 5,000 Miao soldiers. There were 120 t'un and
[701] Miao camps, 731 stone houses, 151 t'un guard houses, 137
C guard stations, 99 patrol posts, 11 gun emplacements, 38 gates,
[712] and 11 gate houses. The above stone houses, guard houses,
C guard stations, patrol posts, gun emplacements, gates, and gate
[65] houses totaled 1,178. There were altogether 131 t'un and
[713] Miao granaries; the set rent was 79,218 shih, 3 tou, 9 sheng.
There were in all 16,388 shotguns, 50 hand guns, 1,643 swords,
and 5,002 spears, totaling 41,136 weapons.

C 2. Regulations for the organization and administration
701 of the T'un Bureau from the headquarters of the newly organized Thirty-Fourth Division of the Army.

Article 1. The said Bureau is to be organized on the order of Divisional Commander Ch'en of the newly organized Thirty-Fourth Division.

Article 2. The said Bureau shall set up, according to the temporary organization regulations of the Division, a chief and a deputy chief, three department heads, a number of departmental staff, clerks, and copyists.

Article 3. The chief of the Bureau will receive orders from the Commander of the Division, and will have general superintendence over the t'un army west of the Hsiang River,
C and Miao defense officials and soldiers, t'un grain supplies,
[563]